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A

GENERAL REPLY

TO THE SEVERAL

ANSWERERS, &c.

[PRICE TWO SHILLINGS.]

A

GENERAL REPLY

TO THE SEVERAL

ANSWERERS, &c.

OF A

LETTER Written to a NOBLE LORD,

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE.

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1796.

A

GENERAL REPLY, &c.

POLITICAL inveſtigation, if at all connected with meaſures immediately before the Publick, never fails to involve an infinity of miſrepreſentation: much of it ariſing from ignorance and perverſion of facts and circumſtances; much from the ſpirit of party, ever more emulous of propagating its tenets, than of elucidating their propriety; and much from a ſort of perſonal enmity cheriſhed by weak people againſt thoſe whoſe principles and perſuaſions embrace objects not within the pale of their eſtimation.

From theſe and ſimilar ſources, Mr. Burke could not but have reaſon to expect a deluge of traſh on the ſubject of his late Letter; and he has not been diſappointed.

His Reflections on the French Revolution gave birth to innumerable and extraneous publications: innumerable, as the ſubject neceſſarily engaged the attention of the whole world; extraneous, as ſcarcely any of his commentators omitted to honour his work with annotations as invidious and perſonal, as they were injudicious and foreign to the nature of the inquiry. Such being a part of the effects produced by the Reflections, the Letter to a Noble Lord, affording ſome pretext for perſonal diſquiſition, could not fail of calling forth the powers of thoſe who fancy themſelves poſſeſſed of political acumen, when their minds are only irritated by political aſperity. The conſequences have been conformable. The writers ſeem leſs anxious, and certainly leſs able, to trace Mr. Burke's conduct and principles, than to expoſe their own. With whatever intention they may have written, they have proved how much ſtronger are their paſ-

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ſions and prejudices than their means of knowledge, or their powers of logick. In remarking on Mr. Burke, they have diſcovered how eaſy it is for men to libel themſelves.

Among Mr. Burke's opponents it ſeems a matter of controverſy, whether he merited the Penſion, which has given riſe to this warfare, for ſervices long ſince performed,* or for ſervices

* "Far be it from me to depreciate the value of Mr. "Burke's *former* ſervices; or to detract from the merit of "his *former* labours. I never can forget, and the nation never "can forget, the noble manner in which he ſtood up du- "ring the American war, in defence of thoſe rights of man "which he has ſince ſo ſtrenuouſly queſtioned and attacked. "—You will obſerve that Mr. Burke reſts all his claim "to compenſation upon his *former* ſervices."

A Vindication of the Duke of Bedford's Attack upon Mr. Burke's Penſion. By Thomas George Street.

Thus becauſe ſome of Mr. Burke's *former* ſervices correſponded with the political ideas of this Mr. Street, and becauſe ſome of thoſe ſervices, though conſtitutional, were ignorantly ſuppoſed to be inimical to the intereſts of the Crown, and *therefore*, no doubt, highly gratifying to the ſame Mr. Street, he is laviſh in his commendations of a conduct which another opponent virulently condemns.

vices of a later date, or whether he merited it at all. On theſe points the literary Remarkers are by no means agreed. They, however, unite in giving him credit for talents which he, perhaps, does not poſſeſs in the eminent degree they are ſo willing to allow. The arguments which they cannot confute they would fain perſuade their readers have nothing to recommend them but the ſtyle of the compoſition: ſo that the excellence which they

" You ſteadily," ſays M. C. Browne, " ſupported the principle of our *right* to tax America." So that, after all, Mr. Burke was not defending the " rights of man" in that buſineſs: he was conſiſtently defending the conſtitutional rights of Great Britain. But he does *not*, as this Mr. Street takes upon him to aſſert, " reſt *all* his claim to compenſation upon his *former* ſervices." He believes all his late ſervices, as they were equally well meant and conſtitutional, equally entitled to publick approbation. And if Mr. Burke's principles during the American war were ſuch as Mr. Street *admires*, and thoſe which Mr. Burke maintained reſpecting the French revolution be ſuch as Mr. Street " *deteſts*," the political reputation of Mr. Burke ought to ſuffer no injury, and indeed cannot ſuffer any injury, from the impeachments of men ſo prone, from paſſion or prejudice, to make broad diſtinctions where there is no ſhade of difference.

pretend

pretend to compliment in the firſt inſtance, is, in the next, brought to counteract its own efficacy. But with ſuch writers this is nothing new. Of the praiſe which they beſtow on their adverſary they always hope to participate by reflection. It is a pity that they ſo ſeldom ſucceed.

Whatever may be Mr. Burke's merits theſe gentlemen ſeem as incapable of combining them as the Duke of Bedford is of appreciating them. To ſome act of his life each of them appears willing to allot ſome portion of approbation. A meaſure long ſince purſued, a conduct adopted at a given period, on a particular occaſion, is recurred to as an act of patriotiſm; not for the intention with which it was then embraced, or the effect which it then produced; but becauſe the like meaſure, or a ſimilar conduct, might at this moment contribute to the accompliſhment of projects as inimical to the political welfare of the country, as at the former period they may have been found ſalutary. I allude to no ſpecifick inſtance. Who, except ſuch partial and ſuperficial reaſoners, does not know, that to

proſecute

profecute any meaſure beyond certain limits, is to defeat the propoſed end?

But it is not ſo much Mr. Burke's Penſion that excites the furor of the Bedfords and the Lauderdales, as his principles. It is confeſſed, that he is not ſo much cenſured for accepting, as the miniſters are criminated for beſtowing, rewards on a man whoſe conduct and whoſe writings are found to operate againſt the views of thoſe who wiſh to tolerate, in this country, French principles and French freedom. And in order to render him and his penſion the more obnoxious, he is repreſented as having renounced principles which he formerly held: that the leading tenets in his book on the French Revolution are contradictory to thoſe on which he has acted in his parliamentary capacity; and he is branded with the odium of that inconſiſtency which always implies political turpitude, and ſelf-intereſted tergiverſation.

Part of this charge ariſes from incapacity in thoſe who make it, and part from their malignity. For what are the points of inconſiſtency, and what do they amount to? It ſhould

ſhould ſeem that Mr. Burke, in expreſſing his ſentiments reſpecting the Revolutioniſts of France, had occaſion to reprobate their conduct, and to juſtify that reprobation by deſcribing thoſe excellencies of the Britiſh Conſtitution, and thoſe principles of civil liberty and of political economy which the Revolutioniſts had violated, or which their ſyſtem neceſſarily tended to violate; and without a regard to which it was utterly impoſſible they ſhould found on any ſtability a government of any deſcription, at all calculated for a great empire. In executing this taſk, Mr. Burke is ſaid not only to have miſtaken the principles on which the French Revolution was commenced, but to have miſrepreſented the principles of the Britiſh government; and to have promulgated opinions unfriendly to civil liberty, and ſubverſive of his own doctrines on former occaſions. He denies it. He contends, and he has, indeed, already made it appear, that neither in his conduct nor in his doctrines has he at all ſwerved from thoſe Whig principles, which form the baſis of that Conſtitution which it muſt ever afford him ſatisfaction

faction to recollect he has had the honour to defend, as well againſt the too powerful influence of the Crown, as againſt the encroachments of the People. Every one will recollect his conduct on the former occaſion. But on the latter, his ſervices though, as he conceives, no leſs uſeful, becauſe no leſs conſtitutional, appear to have been purpoſely eraſed from thoſe tablets which contain the records of ſuch acts only as are ſuppoſed to diminiſh the privileges of the higher orders, and to add to thoſe of the democratick body of the ſtate. Let it be recollected then, that Mr. Burke "was the firſt man who, on the huſtings, at a popular election, rejected the authority of inſtructions from conſtituents; or who, in any place, has argued ſo fully againſt it. Perhaps the diſcredit into which that doctrine of compulſive inſtructions, under our conſtitution, is ſince fallen, may be due, in a great degree, to his oppoſing himſelf to it in that manner, and on that occaſion.—The Reforms in Repreſentation, and the Bills for ſhortening the duration of Parliaments, he uniformly and ſteadily oppoſed for many years together, in contradiction to

many

many of his beſt friends.—He oppoſed thoſe of the church clergy who had petitioned the Houſe of Commons to be diſcharged from the ſubſcription. At the ſame he promoted the clauſe that gave the diſſenting teachers another ſubſcription in the place of that which was taken away.—People at that time could *diſtinguiſh between a difference in conduct, under a variation of circumſtances, and an inconſiſtency in principle* *."

Indeed one might be led to imagine, from the inexhauſtible jargon of Mr. Burke's opponents, that the Britiſh conſtitution doth not conſiſt of Three Eſtates; but that it is a government wholly ſubſervient to the fluctuating will, and fleeting caprices, of the governed. For as long as the principles of a mixed conſtitution be admitted, Mr. Burke can want no more than that admiſſion to "juſtify to conſiſtency every thing he has ſaid and done during the courſe of his political life." In nothing have his adverſaries more expoſed themſelves than in this reiterated charge of inconſiſtency.

* Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.

Moſt of the writers againſt the late Letter ſeem totally ignorant of the ſubject. So conſcious is Mr. Burke of poſſeſſing the virtue of conſiſtency, at leaſt, that I may ſafely repeat what has been elſewhere obſerved, that "if he could venture to value himſelf upon any thing, it is on this very virtue of conſiſtency that he would value himſelf the moſt. Strip him of this, and you leave him naked indeed!"

Weighed in the petty balance, meaſured on the narrow ſcale, of a mere partizan, it is not Mr. Burke, nor any man who ſhall be an active Senator, that can poſſibly eſcape the calumny of inconſiſtency. It is the common catchword of the party, whoſe excluſive intereſts he apparently oppoſes for the preſervation of the united intereſts of all. Added to this, it muſt be conſidered, that almoſt every new queſtion raiſes a hoſt of ſpeculative opinions: and that in political, as well as in other reſearches, men contend full as violently for theory as for practice. Hence it is clear, that "he who thinks that the Britiſh conſtitution ought to conſiſt of the three members,

of

of three very different natures, of which it does actually conſiſt, and thinks it his duty to preſerve each of thoſe members in its proper place, and with its proper proportion of power, muſt, as each ſhall happen to be attacked, vindicate the three ſeveral parts on the ſeveral principles peculiarly belonging to them. He cannot aſſert the democratick part on the principles on which monarchy is ſupported; nor can he ſupport monarchy on the principles of democracy; nor can he maintain ariſtocracy on the grounds of the one or of the other, or of both. All theſe he muſt ſupport on grounds that are totally different; though practically they may be, and happily with us they are, brought into one harmonious body.

A man could not be conſiſtent in defending ſuch various, and, at firſt view, diſcordant parts of a mixed conſtitution, without that ſort of inconſiſtency with which Mr. Burke ſtands charged †." This may be, and probably is, incomprehenſible, if not to the underſtandings, at leaſt to the prejudices of Mr.

† Appeal.

Burke's detractors. And yet it is a conduct which, in the ordinary concerns of life, is daily adopted by thoſe who cannot diſcern its political propriety. Judged then by the conſtitution, and not by party prejudice: judged by the united body of the ſtate, and not by a diſtinct member of it only; judged as a real ſupporter of the King, Lords, and Commons, and of the reſpective powers and prerogatives of each, and not as the varying follower of men and names; in ſhort, judged by principle and not by paſſion, Mr. Burke is, perhaps, the laſt man in this country that ſhould be taxed with inconſiſtency. Brought thus to the teſt, even the various paſſages in his works "upon very multifarious matter," which have been moſt abſurdly deduced * as proofs of mercenary tergiverſation will be found to evince conſtitutional conſiſtency and political rectitude. If they are otherwiſe underſtood, the head of the reader muſt be ſtrangely influenced by the perverſions of his heart:

* See a Letter to H. Duncombe, Eſq. by William Miles.

Though

Though it requires no great ſkill ſo to ſelect and garble the ſentences of a writer as to make him apparently guilty of contradictions the moſt groſs, and of poſitions the moſt indefenſible. And this, indeed, is by no means uncommon among a certain claſs of wtiters, whoſe chief aim is to ſolicit vulgar applauſe by giving countenance to vulgar ſlander*. But it is, literally, like the clown, " ſpeaking more than is ſet down to him," and is a " moſt pitiful deception in the fool that uſeth it."

On the general charge of inconſiſtency much common place declamation has been uſed; but by no one fact or argument, has it yet been proved. Conſidering the impreſſions the conduct of the French muſt have made on the mind of Mr Burke; and that, writing

* This has been done with great dexterity by Mr. Burke's opponents, and even by way of MOTTO to W. Miles's Pamphlet. It is exactly of a piece with that ſpecies of quotation which the pious and learned Author of the " Letters on Infidelity" mentions as the deiſtical mode of proving from Scripture not only the lawfulneſs but the duty of SUICIDE: " *Then Judas went out and hanged himſelf—Go thou and do likewiſe!*"

under

under thoſe impreſſions, he might very eaſily and very naturally have been ſeduced into opinions and expreſſions not exactly conformable to the ideas he had always taught as a lover of liberty; it is a fact not leſs ſingular than honourable to him, that in his "Reflections" he has never permitted his paſſions to run counter to his principles. And he has repeatedly challenged, † and does yet challenge, thoſe who aſſert the contrary, to ſhew, "on what part of that publication, or on what expreſſion that might have eſcaped him in that work, is any man authorized to charge Mr. Burke with a contradiction to the line of his conduct and to the current of his doctrines? The pamphlet is in the hands of his accuſers, let them point out the paſſage if they can."

A writer indeed of ſome talent*, and whoſe well-drawn character of the late Queen of France ſo exactly accords with Mr. Burke's

† See Appeal.

* See Mr. Burke's Conduct and Pretenſions Conſidered, &c. By a Royaliſt.

ideas

ideas of that illuſtrious Princeſs, has taken occaſion to aſſert, that " it was by an unre-
" mitting diſplay, in the Houſe of Commons,
" of ſuch talents and ſuch principles as Mr.
" Burke poſſeſſes, that this country loſt Ame-
" rica. And that *Paine* has clearly deduced
" the origin of the French Revolution, and
" conſequently all its enormities, from the
" inflammatory harangues and democratick
" poſitions at that time diſſeminated with all
" poſſible induſtry, and maintained with all
" poſſible tenacity, by this grand leader of
" oppoſition. And it is not leſs true than
" ſingular, that, in the ſpace of a few years,
" all thoſe powers of Eloquence which were
" exerted to the utmoſt in favour of the Re-
" bellion and Revolution of America, ſhould
" be turned, with equal vigour, and with
" equal ardour, againſt the very principles
" and the very arguments from which the
" French imbibed that rebellious turpitude
" and revolutionary rancour which have fitted
" them to enjoy, with a ſort of diabolical en-
" thuſiaſm, the execration of the ſurrounding
" univerſe." The writer has fallen into an

error

error not uncommon among thoſe who deal in general poſitions ; who imagine that there is a ſimilarity between the American conteſt and the French Revolution, becauſe the profeſſed object of each was the attainment of unpoſſeſſed liberty, or the reſumption of violated rights: and that he whoſe opinions were favourable to the cauſe of America muſt, to be conſiſtent, eſpouſe that of the French. But the caſes are widely different. Indeed that of France admits of no compariſon with any thing, in the ſhape of reformation, revolution, or national convulſion, that has preceded it. It ſtands alone. It is one of thoſe gigantick monſtroſities which may long have been hatching in the womb of Time, but which being ſuddenly brought forth, aſtoniſhes and terrifies. It is an entirely new object of contemplation. It mocks the line and compaſs of all political calculation. It overwhelms and confounds all the powers of the mind. The light of philoſophy, the learning of ages, and the wiſdom of the wiſe, teach us nothing on this topick ; they are loſt in vague ſurmiſe and imbecile concluſions. Whatever might have

have been Mr. Burke's conduct reſpecting America, no perſon was warranted in calling upon him to ſupport the French Revolution. It is one thing to endeavour to compromiſe between a mother country and her colonies on the principles of eſtabliſhed government, and it is another to abet the extermination of all religious, all moral, and all ſocial order from a vaſt Empire, ſeeking liberty; but ſeeking it among the dregs of a flagitious philoſophy, and in the very kennels of the moſt polluted licentiouſneſs. After due inquiry, it will be found, that, on the ſubject of the American war*, Mr. Burke "never had any opinions which he has ſince had occaſion to retract, or which he has ever retracted." And if he could at all hope for candour, the language and the opinions he then held would be found not only conſiſtent with Whig principles, but with the language and opinions he has ever held, and will ever continue to hold. If thoſe who take the trouble of comparing the

* See the Appeal, where the matter is treated at large, and the repreſentations of Mr. Burke's adverſaries confuted.

ſentiments Mr. Burke has uttered at different periods, and on different occaſions, cannot reduce them to the ſtandard of the Conſtitution, and of Whig principles, he has only to lament that their powers of diſcrimination are ſo infinitely ſurpaſſed by thoſe of their prejudices.

On all great conſtitutional queſtions it appears that no man can be entitled to the praiſe of conſiſtency from the politicians that form the body of Mr. Burke's commentators, but ſuch as having once ſupported a popular meaſure;—they will not recollect that all meaſures are popular that are conſtitutional;—ſhall ever afterwards ſupport the democratical part of the community in every meaſure, and on every occaſion, however adverſe to the ſpirit of that Conſtitution, which, they will not recollect, is "made up of *balanced powers*." And they not leſs violently than abſurdly, eſtimate a man's enmity to the freedom of his country, in proportion to the occaſional ſupports which, in his political capacity, he muſt neceſſarily give to the ariſtocracy and the monarchy; that is, to each part of the Conſtitution,

tion, as it ſhall happen to be attacked. For ſuch politicians there can be no apology that is not founded in hypocriſy or ignorance. Either they do not comprehend the ſyſtem they pretend to admire; or they ſeek its deſtruction, by miſrepreſenting the principles of the Government, and the conduct of the Governors.

But the charge of inconſiſtency more immediately urged againſt Mr. Burke, is with reſpect to Economy. His Grace of Bedford ſeems to think that Mr. Burke, in accepting of his Penſion, has departed from his own ideas and his own ſyſtem on this ſubject. This, being the direct occaſion of Mr. Burke's late letter, is in that letter fully refuted. And the only concluſion to be drawn from a candid diſquiſition is, that his Grace, however practically adroit in the management of an ample fortune, ſo as to acquire a reputation for great prudence and uncommon diſcretion, has not ſufficiently ſtudied the ſcience of political economy to judge of that which he condemns. He is yet but a young Senator. The inquiry his Grace would inſtitute would be

uſeleſs, ſince it could afford no information, but to thoſe who, like the noble Duke and the Earl of Lauderdale, either could not, or would not, comprehend the nature or the extent of the ſervices for which Mr. Burke's penſion was granted. Their curioſity is now gratified. They have more information than their projected inveſtigation could have produced. I forbear to ſay any thing of the indecency towards the Crown which ſuch an inquiry implies. Becauſe I am not ſure that ſuch an indecency was not included in the motive for diſcuſſion.

If then, and ſurely of that there can remain no doubt, Mr. Burke has uniformly, and ſtrenuouſly, and conſiſtently defended the Conſtitution, as compoſed of King, Lords, and Commons, in many years ſervices, and under many trying circumſtances, let not the unſolicited remuneration of a gracious Sovereign, who has witneſſed and approved of his exertions, become matter of reproach to him. He cannot but deem it equally honourable to the country and to himſelf. Indeed, ſome of his adverſaries admit that he has deſerved well

well of the Publick: that he has merited his penſion* : but they contend that it ſhould have

* Even one of the *Hackney* ſchool, amidſt his *claſſical fulminations* againſt Mr. Burke, ſays, ' As to the penſion ' of Mr. Burke, if the preſent Miniſters, or any other ſet ' of men, had come forward to the Parliament and the ' Publick, in a tone, frank, manly, and explicit: " Mr. " Burke, for a conſiderable portion of his life, has devoted " in his ſenatorial capacity, thoſe talents and accompliſh- " ments,

" Of which all Europe rings from ſide to ſide,"

" to the ſervice of the State, and has benefited his coun- " try, in ſome important inſtances: it is our wiſh to re- " compenſe the merits of ſo great a man, and to provide " for the repoſe of his declining years, in a publick re- " numeration, ſanctioned by the ſuffrage of his country; " and we apply to that country for this purpoſe." If, I ' ſay, a propoſal of ſuch a nature had been made, and ' in ſome ſuch manner; no man, I venture to aſſert, would ' have heſitated a ſingle ſuſpicion of diſlike. All parties ' and deſcriptions * could not have failed to join in their ' applauſe of a meaſure, apportioned with diſcretion, not ' leſs honourable to the donors, than the ſubject of it.'

Wakefield's Reply to Mr. Burke's Letter.

* This author, who writes " by the card," it is preſumed here means " Every party:" for though " *all* parties and deſcriptions could not have failed"—*ſome* might.

been

been conferred by Parliament. It is the peculiar and conſtitutional province, as it is the gracious pleaſure, of the Crown, to reward thoſe Servants of the Publick, whoſe labours entitle them to ſuch diſtinguiſhed approbation. And it is no leſs the province and conſtitutional right of Parliament to canvaſs this as well as every other act of Government. Mr. Burke knows this: He has aſſerted and maintained it. His late Letter implies no queſtion of this right. He meant that letter as ſuch a juſtification of his acceptance of a Penſion as the Duke of Bedford's attack ſeemed to require.

In one thing, at leaſt, will the ſapient annotators on Mr. Burke allow him the virtue of conſiſtency in its utmoſt latitude. They uniformly aſcribe to him a predilection for *Popery*: and he is favoured with all the groſs epithets which modern liberality ſo abundantly laviſhes on blind ſuperſtition. It is always the fate of cunning, as well as of folly, to overſhoot its mark. Becauſe Mr. Burke has expreſſed, and that with a warmth and vehemence becoming the occaſion, thoſe ſentiments which ſurely every good mind muſt feel, for the calamities

mities inflicted on a body of people employed as the miniſtry of a national religion, he is directly accuſed of maintaining the principles of that religion, of ſubſcribing to its doctrines, of ſupporting its errors, of being himſelf a member of its community. As if it were impoſſible or improper to feel for the miſeries of mankind, and to execrate the authors of boundleſs miſchief, without countenancing the follies, and defending the ſpeculative abſurdities, of thoſe who ſuffer. That religion is particularly obnoxious to this Government, and in this Country. Hence is Mr. Burke, in common with many high and diſtinguiſhed characters, who love their country, and revere the Eſtabliſhment, calumniated, as holding religious tenets ſubverſive of that political creed, on the faith and obſervance of which is built the ſuperſtructure of our national felicity. It was reſerved for thoſe profound ſcrutinizers of the human heart, the doctors of the philoſophy of new lights, to diſcover in a ſcholar of the Eighteenth century, opinions long ſince exploded, and doctrines which even Ignorance herſelf has long ſince diſowned.

diſowned. But the taſk is as eaſy, as it is common, to attribute obliquity of mind to thoſe whoſe actions are not ſufficiently reprehenſible to anſwer the purpoſes of detraction. Though we cannot make a conduct, we can fabricate a creed. And it is wonderful with what facility a "maker of books" can ſwell his libels * when he once aſſumes this privilege of looking with the eyes of the new phi-

* A curious inſtance of this occurs in "A Letter to "Henry Duncombe, Eſq. by William Miles," in which the deep-read author, to prove Mr. Burke unworthy of his *Penſion*, employs many pages and ſome very exceptionable and indelicate language, in deſcanting on "miracles, re-"licks, diſpenſations, plenary indulgences, pardons, and "all the diſguſting buffooneries which impoſture, aided by "credulity and power, had contrived, manufactured, and "converted into ſtable, lucrative, merchantable commo-"dities, for the triple purpoſe of enriching a profligate vo-"luptuous prieſthood, cozening the deluded nations of the "earth, and brutalizing the human ſpecies over the whole "ſurface of the habitable globe!" All this is very much to the purpoſe. In proportion, however, as it exhibits the follies and ſuperſtitions of Popery, it may ſerve to convince his readers, that William Miles, and others of his way of thinking, muſt entertain an idea that they are *very wiſe*, and that Mr. Burke is *very ignorant*.

loſophy

loſophy into the mind of the man he wiſhes to defame.

It were a work as endleſs to anſwer, as it is difficult to comprehend, the objections of common-place writers. *Damnant quod non intelligunt.* Indeed they generally carry their own confutation. What, one might aſk, ſhall be ſaid to ſuch as read Mr. Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution as a defence of "diſcarded tyranny and ſuperſtition*?" Evidently they cannot at all underſtand either the intention or the words of the Author. To reply to ſuch writers is to multiply books without advancing knowledge. It is in vain to direct the arrows of Reaſon againſt the united ſhields of prejudice and folly.

To be at all attached to any form of Government, or to any religious Eſtabliſhment, tending to controul that licentiouſneſs which deceives with a ſhew of liberty, is a crime ſufficient to draw down the vengeance of the ſans-culotte philoſophers. "To fear God; "to look up with awe to Kings; with af-

* Miles's Letter.

" fection to Parliaments; with duty to Ma-
" giſtrates; with reverence to Prieſts; and with
" reſpect to Nobility*;" includes, it ſhould ſeem, the whole code of ſuperſtition: and he muſt needs be wedded to Popery, and an enemy to the human race, who does not lend a helping hand to effectuate the demolition of the fabricks that are raiſed on theſe foundations. And yet, ſuch is the inconſiſtency of ſuch philoſophy, they who are loud in their cries againſt this order of things, and as ſedulous as they are inſidious in their attempts to aboliſh theſe religious, theſe rational, theſe neceſſary diſtinctions, without which no Government can ſubſiſt, no ſociety can be formed; they, I ſay, who would break theſe bonds that keep the world in order, who would looſe the ſilver cord that binds us in civilization, and are diligent to deſtroy the harmony of the univerſe; they are vehement in contending for the purity and the excellence of the Britiſh Conſtitution!—with their lips they praiſe it, though their hearts are ſet on its deſtruction. It is

* Reflections.

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an artful and a wicked policy, highly worthy of the new ſect, alternately to extol and to degrade, the better to accompliſh the project of ſubverſion.

Well, indeed, may Mr. Burke be ſtigmatiſed with ſcurrilities by thoſe who, adopting the dogmas and the language of a philoſophy at war with nature, regard Religion as a mere engine of State. He has ventured to record far other ſentiments on this important topick *. "We know," he ſays, "and what is better, we feel inwardly, that religion is the baſis of civil ſociety, and the ſource of all good and of all comfort. In England we are ſo convinced of this, that there is no ruſt of ſuperſtition, with which the accumulated abſurdity of the human mind might have cruſted it over in the courſe of ages, that ninety-nine in an hundred of the people of England would not prefer to impiety. We ſhall never be ſuch fools as to call in an enemy to the ſub-

* Reflections.

ſtance of any ſyſtem to remove its corruptions, to ſupply its defects, or to perfect its conſtruction. If our religious tenets ſhould ever want a further elucidation, we ſhall not call in Atheiſm to explain them. We ſhall not light up our temple from that unhallowed fire. It will be illuminated with other lights. It will be perfumed with other incenſe than the infectious ſtuff which is imported by the ſmugglers of adulterated metaphyſicks. If our eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment ſhould want a reviſion, it is not avarice or rapacity, publick or private, that we ſhall employ for the audit, or receipt, or application of its conſecrated revenue. Violently condemning neither the Greek, nor the American, nor, ſince heats are ſubſided, the Roman ſyſtem of religion, *we prefer the* PROTESTANT; not becauſe we think it has leſs of the Chriſtian religion in it, but becauſe, in our judgment, it has more. WE ARE PROTESTANTS, *not from indifference, but from zeal.*" In what reſpect Mr. Burke's Proteſtantiſm differs from that of his opponents, may readily be conceived. Though he

he proteſts againſt the tenets and the ſpirit of the Church of Rome, he does not proteſt againſt the injunctions and the commands of God. He reverences the ſcriptures. He doubts not their divine original, though they enjoin ſubmiſſion to higher powers, and obedience to Kings.

We know that libertines and free thinkers, under the various denominations of athieſts, deiſts, and diſſenters, have long attacked, and continue to attack, in every poſſible mode, and with every poſſible weapon, which the cunning and chicane of diſaffection can deviſe, not alone our religious eſtabliſhment, not Chriſtianity only, but every religious code that inculcates doctrines inimical to the private purpoſes and political hereſies of thoſe who hold the natural equality of man, and his final extinction in the grave. We know, that poſſeſſing ſuch principles, and deſpairing to obtain thoſe ſituations in the community which intereſt and ambition prompt them to covet, they conceive, and they cheriſh, an inveterate malignity, like that of Lucifer viewing Paradiſe, againſt the

the ſyſtem that excludes them from the full enjoyment of that ſocial happineſs and thoſe municipal advantages incident to unfeigned loyalty and political honeſty. Hence is it that they join with atheiſtical, and with men of the moſt profligate principles; truſting, under the pretext of reform and improvement, to overthrow our national eſtabliſhments, civil and eccleſiaſtical. And like the elegant, but ſceptical Gibbon, who regarded Chriſtianity but as an innovation on the ancient Pagan worſhip, and therefore endeavoured to ſap its foundations, and undermine its authority; ſo theſe internal enemies to our happy Conſtitution meditate its deſtruction, as an infringement on the natural rights of man. They would have us aboliſh all the inſtitutions produced by the legiſlative wiſdom of ages; becauſe under thoſe inſtitutions they cannot gratify the depraved paſſions and ſelfiſh appetites which it is the chief object of all civilization to check and controul. To thoſe laudable reſtraints which make man happy in ſpite of his own nature; to thoſe compacts which, as the grand efforts of reaſon,

ſon, ſo eminently diſtinguiſh us from the creatures that ſurround us; to thoſe aſſociating principles and political unions which bind, and unite, and ſtrengthen all perſonal and all ſocial felicity; they would prefer the natural rights of man: thoſe enviable rights which our painted anceſtors enjoyed in common with the beaſts of the field and the fowls of the air.

Thoſe who will not join in this retrograde march to freedom; who think it "good for us to be here;" who in oppoſition to the retreats of this indefinable liberty, prefer churches and palaces and the chearful haunts of men, though marked with the lines of ſubordination and the diviſions and ſubdiviſions of civilized inequality; thoſe are the devotees of uſurped power, the "defenders of tyranny and ſuperſtition." Be it ſo. Applied by ſuch men, and on ſuch occaſions, the language of reproach reflects honor on the cenſured in proportion to its violence.

But how ſhall precept ſucceed when example fails? The French have ſhewn us the

way

way to their temple of liberty. They have illumined the path with conflagrations more glaring than a thouſand comets. The moſt diſtant realms have been ſcorched by the blaze. They have ſacrificed hecatombs to their goddeſs. Her domains are drenched in the coſtly blood of Princes; her rivers overflow with the gore of millions of ſubjects. Her terrifick voice is heard in every wind; ſhe tyrannizes in every boſom. She aims at the ſovereignty of the world: her janizaries, armed with power irreſiſtible, bow every neck and bend every knee to this crimſon Coloſſus, ſupported by the rights of man. And is this the Idol we are called upon to worſhip?—the liberty ſo proudly contraſted with Britiſh freedom?

" Is this the region, this the ſoil, the clime,
" ——————————this the ſeat,
" That we muſt change for heav'n; this mournful gloom
" For that celeſtial light ‡ ?"

‡ Milton.

That

That the principles of the French Revolution ſhould have engendered this monſter is not ſtrange. And yet we are told, with never-ceaſing falſehood, and in direct contradiction to what we ſee and what we feel, that "theſe principles are good*." And we are ſtunned with the applauſes vociferated in honour of the metaphyſical politicians and ſans-culotte philoſophers, who have had the ingenuity not only to frame ſuch a variety and ſuch diſcordant codes of legiſlation, but to reſerve to themſelves the moſt abſolute authority for carrying them into execution. The effects we have ſeen, and have been compelled to feel. Neither have the tributes of approbation which they ſolicited been withheld. Our Revolutionary Societies, our demagogues of Chalk-farm, and of Copenhagen-houſe, and of Palace-yard, have been profuſe in their teſtimonies of admiration. They have, with the true

* Sober Reflections on Burke's Letter, by John Thelwall.

ſans-culotte authority, taken the proxies of the kingdom at large. They have anticipated the fraternal embrace. They " have been long prepared to hail the tri- " umphant entry of a Republican Repreſen- " tative; and to exclaim, with equal ſince- " rity and rapture,

" Dicite, Io Pæan! et Io, bis dicite, Pæan!"*

If any thing could augment this ſincerity and this rapture, it would be that the Republican Repreſentative ſhould be received by a Republican functionary.

If one might be permitted to judge of cauſes by their effects, and that it were not a mode of ratiocination incompatible with the new philoſophy, the miſeries, the calamities, the horrors, the aggregated ſum of evil, which France has experienced, and under which ſhe now labours, and ſhall long ſuffer, muſt be traced to the operation of

* Wakefield's Reply.

theſe boaſted principles *. What Mr. Burke ſo many years ago predicted has come to paſs. Not a ſingle inference drawn by him from thoſe principles has failed. In him it was not foreſight, it was not preſcience; he pretends to no prophetical powers. The principles and the conduct of the French philoſophers and legiſlators formed a problem truly ſyllogiſtick; they furniſhed the major and the minor. It required no great powers of mind to diſcover the reſult of rebellion and tyranny and turpitude. It is not for a banditti to legiſlate. It is not for the governed to govern. It is not for a

* Long before the ſans-culotte rulers came into power, and when the French imagined they were proceeding wiſely and ſyſtematically, Mr Burke had occaſion to remark: "Whether the ſyſtem, if it deſerves ſuch a name, now built on the ruins of the ancient monarchy, will be able to give a better account of the population and wealth of the country, is a matter very doubtful. Inſtead of improving by the change, I apprehend that a long ſeries of years muſt be told before it can recover in any degree the effects of this philoſophical revolution, and before the nation can be replaced on its former footing."

Reflections.

rabble to comprehend the duties, much leſs to perform the functions, of a Stateſman. Indeed we have heard much of French Generals and French Orators: of deſperate men, who, at head of huge armies, equally deſperate, have performed ſuch exploits, and committed ſuch ravages as unbridled ferocity can always accompliſh, and unprincipled ambition will always attempt. And doubtleſs the multitude will hear with rapture, and applaud with enthuſiaſm, thoſe Orators who ſhall defend ſuch principles, and animate them to ſuch conduct. But whence do they imbibe the principles, and how come they to adopt the conduct? It is acknowledged that they have produced conſequences that diſgrace not France only, or Europe, but the whole world and all the human race. Aſhamed of this conduct, though glorying in the principles from which it ſprings, every fallacy of ſophiſtry has been exerted to trace it to the former government, and as naturally flowing from the

" old

" old deſpotiſm*." The old deſpotiſm was ſufficiently deformed, without covering it with the hideous garb of Republican philoſophy. The tyrannies of the old deſpotiſm were very diſtinct from thoſe of the new. The diſtinction is ſeen in their laws; it is felt in their effects. The old deſpotiſm did not authorize, nor could it have brought about the deſolations, the wickedneſs, the unparalleled enormities which have ſo naturally, ſo inevitably, and ſo univerſally diſgraced the new ſyſtem.

To ſpeak of a cannibal philoſopher is, it ſhould ſeem, to ſpeak of an union that does not exiſt. It is, however, a Centaur of no fabulous complexion. Mr. Burke can feel no propenſity to dignify the French rulers with the title of philoſophers. It is an aſſumption of their own. They have preferred it to that of honeſt men. But take what appellation beſt pleaſes them, what epithet their vanity

* " The imbecility of the philoſophick, and the ferocity " of the energetick party, had their remote cauſes alike in " the vices and cruelties of the old deſpotiſm."

Thelwall's Sober Reflections.

prompts

prompts them to adopt, to do them juſtice we are conſtrained to denominate them "cannibals," and cannibals of the fierceſt kind. They are profeſſors of the rights of man; they are, ſince they will have it ſo, philoſophers; but they are neither good men, nor ſound politicians. They have taught us to regard as ſimple truths what we have heretofore contemplated as the frightful fictions, and tremendous hieroglyphicks, of antiquity and romance. They have not only called into exiſtence, but they have employed as their chief agents, the

"Gorgons, Monſters, and Chimeras dire,"

for which Imagination herſelf could ſcarcely find a local habitation or a name. Under the old deſpotiſm there were MEN*; and the principle

* Revolutions in States uſually produce *great men*. It has been juſtly obſerved that this of France has not. Madame Roland obſerves, that "France was in a manner "deſtitute of MEN. Their ſcarcity has been truly ſur-"priſing in this revolution, in which ſcarcely any thing "but pigmies have appeared. I do not mean, however, "that there was any want of wit, of knowledge, of learn-"ing,

principle of honour ſtimulated them to do deeds worthy of men, and of Frenchmen. The old deſpotiſm was not degraded by a national barbarity, by a ferocity more than brutal, by flagitiouſneſs upon principle, alike infamous to the rulers and to the ruled. The national character was that of honour and humanity. The government, indeed, was not only bad in itſelf, but it was corrupt. Means were taken, and chearfully adopted, to ameliorate the Government, and to ſtop the current of corruption. The national aſſembly did what

" ing, of accompliſhments, or of philoſophy. Theſe in-
" gredients, on the contrary, were never ſo common.
" But as to that firmneſs of mind, which John James
" Rouſſeau has ſo well defined by calling it ' the firſt attri-
' bute of a Hero,' ſupported by that ſoundneſs of judg-
" ment, which knows how to ſet a value upon things, and
" by thoſe extenſive views which penetrate into futurity,
" altogether conſtituting the character of a great man, they
" were ſought for every where, and were ſcarcely any
" where to be found."—To this paſſage juſtice is done by one of Mr. Burke's antagoniſts, who alſo quotes it, with an exception in favour of ſome of the Mountain party, and of *Danton* in particular. What Madame Roland has, however, ſo judiciouſly obſerved, every one muſt feel to be true, without any exception.

became

became wiſe men and ſtateſmen. But the completion of their ſyſtem, at once ſalutary and politick, was prevented by their too early diſſolution, and the conſequent introduction of men far leſs able, and being of inferior orders and capacities, more inclined to thoſe republican meaſures which proved the overthrow of the monarchy, and accelerated that dreadful innundation of horrible and indeſcribable miſchiefs immediately reſulting from principles which, we are told, with frontleſs audacity, had their origin in the old deſpotiſm. Under that deſpotiſm, indeed, there was a Baſtille, the abode and bulwark of tyranny; the foul reproach of the country. There was, indeed, a Baſtille; but there was only one. Every petty priſon was not a priſon of State. The Baſtille was not crouded with the greateſt men, and the beſt citizens. Many, too many, unhappy victims, ſome worthy and ſome worthleſs, in thoſe cells, groaned with unavailing ſorrow, and died the ſacrifice of relentleſs cruelty. But the deteſted walls of the Baſtille never incloſed thouſands of the human race; one hour hurried into its execrable confines, and dragged the

the next to the ſcaffold. All Europe rejoiced in the downfall of the Baſtille, as in the deſtruction of ſomething diſgraceful to man. We rejoiced in the deſolation of thoſe gloomy towers that had, for ſo many centuries, intombed even the ſpirit of Liberty: but we never dreamt that it ſhould prove the Hydra of deſpotiſm, from which ſhould ſpring innumerable tyrannies, generating innumerable monſters; rendering the realms of France "regions of terror," and its government the ſcourge of its inhabitants.

The cannibal philoſophers, theſe legiſlators in blood, all whoſe policy conſiſts in force, and whoſe wiſdom is carried into effect by the guillotine; theſe doughty doctors and their daring adherents, would willingly perſuade us, that the Revolutionary principles which they ſo much applaud, and ſo inceſſantly recommend, are thoſe "humane, incontro-"vertible, glorious principles that breathed "through the ſpeeches of the National Aſſem-"bly, and enlarged at once the boundaries of "ſcience and philanthropy:" whereas the principles adopted, and the conduct purſued

by the National Convention, and all the ſubſequent rulers, were, and are, as oppoſite to thoſe of the firſt National Aſſembly, and they were exceptionable enough, * as the conditions and faculties of the reſpective bodies of which they were compoſed. And it is not unworthy of remark, that the conduct of the Rulers has become more and more incompatible with real policy, or rather ſubverſive of all civil and moral policy, in proportion as the ruling power has deſcended amongſt, or been uſurped by, the inferior orders of the community. It is not becauſe there are not in thoſe claſſes of ſociety men eminent for virtue and talent. "Let us ſpeak like politicians, there is a no-"bility without heraldry, a natural dignity "whereby one man is ranked with another, "another filed before him, according to the "quality of his deſert, and the pre-eminence "of his good parts." But it is becauſe the influence of thoſe individuals is weak when oppoſed to the will of the multitude, whoſe views they may be ſeduced to ſanction

* See Reflections.

by

by ambition, or, indeed, by the hope of ultimately accompliſhing their own virtuous deſigns. It has never yet been known when Power in the hands of the multitude, or of a Plebeian faction, has not been moſt groſsly abuſed: not abuſed only, but rendered ſubſervient to the worſt of crimes. Individual worth is loſt in that general maſs of corruption; "*that great enemy of reaſon, virtue, and religion, the Multitude, that numerous piece of monſtroſity, which taken aſunder ſeem men, and the reaſonable creatures of God; but confuſed together make but one great beaſt, and a monſtroſity more prodigious than Hydra**." That the principles and conduct reſulting from ſuch a tyranny ſhould be at all conſonant with, or derived from, the deſpotiſm of an abſolute monarchy, diſtinguiſhed for the arts and the poliſh of civilized life, is a ſoleciſm which republican declamation will find it difficult to remove.

The teachers of the Rights of Man ſhould recollect the difference between a civilized ſtate and a ſtate of nature. They ſay that

* Sir Thomas Browne.

all men are born equal. This is their text. Their comments are voluminous. Their gloſſaries are without end: but they all tend to enforce one concluſion, on which they erect their whole political ſyſtem; notwithſtanding it is a concluſion which they cannot but feel to be politically and morally, naturally and neceſſarily falſe. They infer, that becauſe all men are born equal, which however, is granting what they cannot prove, they muſt remain ſo. This is the firſt chapter of their Charter. But in no part of the globe can they find this Charter, either naturally or politically, unbroken. Even in the woods and wilds of ſavage life, in all animated nature, and through all created ſpace, pre-eminence and ſubordination prevail. Society does not give them birth. They are the offspring of Nature, fulfilling the dictates of Providence. In a ſtate of civilization, that is in a ſtate where Reaſon acquires authority, and teaches men what is beſt to be done to improve their being, and enlarge their happineſs, we find them diverging more and more widely from what theſe preachers would have us underſtand by natural

natural equality: and every man will become more eminent than his fellow citizens, who ſhall poſſeſs in any extraordinary degree, the parts and accompliſhments, the qualifications and requiſites, which promote civilization and give to ſociety all its advantages and all its charms. Government then begins to aſſume its legitimate form, and to accord with Nature; to mark its boundaries, its diſtinctions, and diſcriminations: to eſtabliſh the rights of community, meritorious claims, and individual honours. This is the operation of Sovereign Reaſon againſt whoſe authority they would oppoſe the ſurreptitious rights of man *. And this operation produces

* "I have ever abhorred, ſince the firſt dawn of my "underſtanding, to this its obſcure twilight, all the opera- "tions of opinion, fancy, inclination, and will, in the affairs "of Government, where only a *ſovereign Reaſon*, paramount "to all forms of legiſlation and adminiſtration ſhould dictate. "Government is made for the very purpoſe of oppoſing "that reaſon to will, and to caprice, in the reformers, or "in the reformed, in the governors, or in the governed; "in kings, in ſenates, or in people."

Mr. Burke's Letter.

So

produces in human ſociety thoſe indiſpenſible inequalities which pervade the works of Nature, and which at once ſo admirably diverſify and harmonize the whole. It is therefore obſerved by Mr. Burke, that though "*numbers* in a ſtate are always of conſideration, they are not the whole conſideration." What can be done by numbers, without order and

So little have the French principles to do with Reaſon, that one of their admirers, after quoting the above paſſage, not without a hint of its *myſticiſm* and *nonſenſe*, exclaims, "In the name of common ſenſe how many gods has Mr. "Burke in his mythology? who is this *Sovereign Reaſon?* "In which of the ſeven heavens does ſhe reſide? For he "has told us [where?] that in this world ſhe is no where to "be found."

Thelwall's Sober Reflections.

It has generally been underſtood, that Reaſon has acquired her title to ſovereignty, and all the honours which ſhe inherits, from the circumſtance of her forming that part of man which diſtinguiſhes him from the brute creation, by which he "approximates nearer to the Gods," and is indeed the perfection of his nature. Mr. Thelwall by *Sovereign Reaſon* would have us to underſtand the "collective reaſon of the *Sovereign People.*" Now the collective reaſon of the Sovereign People, that is, of the People he means, is little more than a natural inſtinct to do miſchief: ſo common is it, in the abſence of this Sovereign Reaſon, to miſtake evil for good, and good for evil.

and ſubordination? The French have let us ſee what is to be done when there is but little. And do not all ſtates, and all bodies of people neceſſarily ſubſide into order and ſubordination, naturally and inevitably producing an ariſtocracy, a democracy, and not unfrequently a monarchy? In all theſe the weight and talents lie in the ariſtocracy; becauſe it is by the acquiſition of power, acquired by virtues and talents, that the ariſtocracy is formed. Whence ſuch a power is derived, and how utterly incapable the collective maſs of the People are of acquiring it, will be ſeen if we at all conſider of what it conſiſts.

" A true natural ariſtocracy is not a ſeparate intereſt in the ſtate, or ſeparable from it. It is an eſſential integrant part of any large people rightly conſtituted. It is formed out of a claſs of legitimate preſumptions, which, taken as generalities, muſt be admitted for actual truths. To be bred in a place of eſtimation; To ſee nothing low and ſordid from one's infancy; To be taught to reſpect one's ſelf; To be habituated to the cenſorial inſpection of the publick eye; To look early to publick

lick opinion ; To ſtand upon ſuch elevated ground as to be enabled to take a large view of the wide-ſpread and infinitely diverſified combinations of men and affairs in a large ſociety ; To have leiſure to read, to reflect, to converſe ; To be enabled to draw the court and attention of the wiſe and learned wherever they are to be found ; To be habituated in armies to command and to obey ; To be taught to deſpiſe danger in the purſuit of honour and duty ; To be formed to the greateſt degree of vigilance, foreſight and circumſpection, in a ſtate of things in which no fault is committed with impunity, and the ſlighteſt miſtakes draw on the moſt ruinous conſequences ; To be led to a guarded and regulated conduct, from a ſenſe that you are conſidered as an inſtructor of your fellow citizens in their higheſt concerns, and that you act as a reconciler between God and man ; To be employed as an adminiſtrator of law and juſtice, and to be thereby amongſt the firſt benefactors to mankind ; To be a profeſſor of high ſcience, or of liberal and ingenuous art ; To be amongſt rich traders, who from their ſucceſs are preſumed

ſumed to have ſharp and vigorous underſtandings, and to poſſeſs the virtues of diligence, order, conſtancy, and regularity, and to have cultivated an habitual regard to commutative juſtice: Theſe are the circumſtances of men, that form what I ſhould call a *natural* ariſtocracy, without which there is no nation *."

Civil ſociety "neceſſarily generating this † ariſtocracy," is a ſtate of nature: "for man is

* Appeal.

† Though it is not for the French rulers and philoſophers, nor for Mr. Thelwall and the diſciples of the new lights, to diſcover any utility, on the contrary, nothing but great nuiſance, and a formidable obſtruction to the Rights of Man, in the ariſtocracy; ſome of the writers againſt Mr. Burke do allow that it has its virtues, and may be found uſeful, even in preſerving the rights of the People. One of them obſerves, that the Nobility, "in their collective capacity, are placed as a barrier between the uſurpations of prerogative, and the clamours of democracy. "Our hiſtory abounds in inſtances where they have ſucceſsfully withſtood both. To the ariſtocracy of England we "are indebted for no ſmall portion of our liberties:—For "the Magna Charta—For the Reformation, by the protection which ſome of them afforded, in its early ſtages, "to the perſecuted reformers, and by the ſpirit with which

is by nature reaſonable; and he is never perfectly in his natural ſtate, but when he is placed where reaſon is beſt cultivated, and moſt predominates." The opinions and conduct of our new philoſophers would go to deſtroy this "fair proportion of things;" and, under an idea of the ſovereignty of the People, reduce all government to that chaotic anarchy from which it has been, and always will be, the province of reaſon, and the object of all good and great men to reſcue human nature: placing ſocial and individual happineſs on the firm baſis of duty, truſt, engagement and obligation. But the "majority and the ſovereignty of the People" are the magick words that enchant and miſlead the multitude; they are the catch-words of ſedition and rebellion: and it has been ignorantly by ſome, and artfully by others, maintained, that the majority of the People have a right to deſtroy all go-

"they reſiſted the papal uſurpations—For the glorious Re-"volution, which the Ariſtocracy planned and effected," &c. &c.

Three Letters to the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke. By an Old Whig.

vernment,

vernment, to diſpenſe with all duty ; to cancel all obligation, to renounce all engagement. They are taught, " by their infamous flatterers," to believe that their power is irreſiſtible and uncontroulable ; and that they can abſolve themſelves from the reſtraints of reaſon, morality and religion, when ſuch is their ſovereign will. Doctrines which Mr. Burke has always moſt ſtrenuouſly denied, and has fully expoſed, and irrefragably refuted * ; and which but to mention, in the way that they ought to be mentioned, muſt ſhock the very people they are intended to miſlead.

But it ſeems that Mr. Burke has aimed a dagger at the heart of ariſtocracy, and ſhaken the foundation of all property : that he who has " ſupported with very great zeal, and " with ſome degree of ſucceſs, thoſe opinions, " or thoſe old prejudices which buoy up the " ponderous maſs of nobility, wealth and

* In the Appeal, in which the leading points of the vulgar ſophiſtry and popular jargon of Paine are examined ; and reſpecting which, as they cannot reply, the lecturers, philoſophers, and demagogues, have obſerved a profound ſilence.

" titles," has, in adverting to the origin of theſe diſtinctions in the Houſe of Bedford, counteracted his own exertions, and ſubverted his own principles. It is the fate, not to ſay the intention, of party zeal to draw extraordinary and contradictory concluſions from the moſt ſimple propoſitions; and the outcry againſt Mr. Burke on this occaſion has been as clamorous as it is ridiculous. The Duke of Bedford thought proper, becauſe, as his Grace ſays, Mr. Burke's " conduct and writings " have, in an eminent degree, contributed to " create and continue the war, and to cauſe " all its conſequent enormous expences;" the noble Duke thought proper to declaim againſt His Majeſty's Miniſters for laviſhing a penſion upon an " avowed advocate of economy." For it does not occur to his Grace that he who labours in the publick cauſe of publick economy, and who propoſes and carries into effect meaſures at once prudent and ſalutary, is, even on the common ſcale of vulgar arithmetick, and in the eſtimation of economy itſelf, entitled to ſome portion of the emolument ariſing from ſuch regulations,

had

had he no other claim on publick gratitude. One might have imagined that a penſion granted to a ſervant of the Crown, and of the Conſtitution, and of the People, and who had ſtudied and maintained their reſpective intereſts and privileges, for ſo many years, might have eſcaped the animadverſions of the noble Duke, and the Earl of Lauderdale; both of whom appear to conſider it exceptionable, principally as it is given to him who has ſupported, and would, to the laſt, ſupport, that Conſtitution and thoſe principles which it is one object of the preſent war to preſerve, and which it is the great object of the French and their abetters to demoliſh: becauſe only in that demolition can they look for ſucceſs: and becauſe as long as that Conſtitution and thoſe principles operate and endure, this Country ſhall retain her political conſequence, her invincible freedom, her unrivalled ſplendour. That Mr. Burke's penſion has not exceeded his deſervings, he has, I think, made ſufficiently clear in his Letter. It is his Grace's misfortune, and not Mr. Burke's fault, that the noble Duke ſhould not

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be willing, or, as Mr. Burke ſays, able to eſtimate ſuch ſervices. I cannot, however, think ſo meanly of his Grace's powers of political calculation. Probably his party prejudices are much ſtronger than thoſe powers. I muſt think he has talents ſuperior to the petty pamphleteers who have ſo officiouſly obtruded their miſconceptions on this occaſion,

Scribimus indocti doctique *.

They cannot conceive that Mr. Burke can have merited his penſion for eight and twenty years Parliamentary duty, and a great deal of it ſuch as were enough to weigh down both the body and the mind; much leſs can they conceive how Mr. Burke could have earned his penſion before he ſet his foot in Parliament. They have no conception (poſſibly his Grace has none) that, he deſerves well of his country who ſhall ſo prepare himſelf for the exerciſes of a ſenator as to be able, on his coming into Parliament, to underſtand his duty; to be fitted and "diſciplined for poli-

* Horace.

tical

tical warfare." It ſurely requires no ſmall portion of aſſiduous reſearch, and labour, and ſtudy to become an active ſenator. It is eaſy to comprehend the objects and the policies of a party. But it requires ſomething more to form a ſenator. "He muſt poſſeſs a fund of "knowledge that may enable him to act as "a part of the legiſlature. He muſt be well "acquainted with the hiſtory, the conſtitu- "tion, and the laws of the country. He "muſt underſtand the forms of buſineſs, the "extent of the Royal prerogative, the pri- "vilege of Parliament, the detail of Govern- "ment, the nature and regulation of the "finances, the different branches of com- "merce, the politicks that prevail, and the "connexions that ſubſiſt amongſt the differ- "ent powers of Europe; for on all theſe "ſubjects the deliberations of a Houſe of "Commons occaſionally turn *." It avails nothing to have had theſe requiſites; to have been indefatigable in the exerciſe of them; to have paſſed a life of ſevere duty and inceſſant

* Smollett.

toil;

toil; if towards its close he, who has thus exerted himself, shall, in the moment he is opposing desperate factions and flagitious principles, accept of reward from a gracious Prince. The Bedfords and the Lauderdales will call it "unparalleled profusion," and vociferate with equal violence and injustice on the "enormity" of the grant, and deny the pretensions of him to whom it is given. Under the impressions of such censure, and not to impede the progress of any inquiry, for that, properly and fairly made, must have redounded to the credit and honour of Mr. Burke, there could surely be no impropriety in inquiring into the origin of those grants from which the Duke of Bedford derives his ample possessions. But in doing this, did Mr. Burke retort upon the noble Duke, by attacking his Grace's right to those possessions? His Grace holds them as the descendant of a gentleman who had acquired the favour of a powerful monarch. "His grants," Mr. Burke has observed*, "are engrafted on the publick law of Europe,

* Letter.

"covered

" covered with the awful hoar of innumera-
" ble ages. They are guarded by the ſacred
" rules of preſcription, found in that full
" treaſury of juriſprudence from which the
" jejuneneſs and penury of our municipal law
" has, by degrees, been enriched and ſtrength-
" ened. The Duke of Bedford will ſtand
" as long as preſcriptive law endures." We are not diſputing his Grace's title: it is ſacred; it is invulnerable to all things but the attacks of that revolutionary injuſtice, and thoſe ſurreptitious principles of freedom, againſt the progreſs of which it has been found expedient, and right, and neceſſary to ſend forth our fleets and armies; and againſt which, I hope and truſt, the Britiſh Conſtitution will wage eternal war. For that enmity can never ceaſe, while the Conſtitution lives; and while the Conſtitution lives his Grace's title is ſecure. French metaphyſicks cannot undermine it. Engliſh ſedition cannot ſhake it. The noble Duke calls in queſtion Mr. Burke's pretenſions to his new penſion. Mr. Burke does not call in queſtion his Grace's right to his old penſions. He does not call in queſtion

the pretenſions of the Earl to whom they were firſt granted: He only ſhews what they were; and contraſts them with his own. He queſtions not the authenticity of the original claims; but he inquires into the merits of the claimant. His Grace, it is preſumed, does not ſo much attack the prerogative from which Mr. Burke derives his penſion, as impeach the *quantum meruit* of the Penſioner. Mr. Burke does not "vex the receptacle of the dead, for evidence againſt the living*." The characters and pretenſions of his anceſtors cannot affect his Grace, or diſturb his title to their poſſeſſions. They muſt put a conſtruction, equally ſtrange and unwarrantable, on Mr. Burke's remarks who call this elucidation of perſonal merits an "unprincipled attack upon the peaceful ſecurity of all property †." Yet from this forced and abſurd conſtruction, this *Ignorantia Elenchi*, the prejudiced commentators have drawn matter of much declamation againſt Mr. Burke, and en-

* Street's Vindication.

† Thelwall's Sober Reflections.

riched

riched their pages with invective; diſplaying the ingenuity of their cenſorial capacities, by reviling him for principles which he never held, and combating poſitions which he never advanced.

The ſame miſconception, I believe rather aſſumed than real, and the ſame ingenuity is employed to convert Mr. Burke's raillery on the official hiſtorians of the Heralds college, into a diſſertation on the origin of property, and a "diſquiſition on hereditary honours *: they adduce and miſapply, a point of pleaſantry, or an effuſion of irony, as an argument to ſhew Mr. Burke's diſaffection to the ariſtocracy, without which he ſays, "there can be no nation;" and cite it as a "democratick contribution to the labours of Prieſtley and of Paine."†

It has been obſerved, with that degree of ſapience and of malignant inuendo which characteriſes the productions I am now noticing, that the grants to Mr. Ruſſell added

* Mr. Burke's Conduct and Pretenſions Conſidered, &c. *By a Royaliſt.* † Ibid.

not to the burthens of the nation. I may aſk, did his labours, in any reſpect, contribute to the welfare of the nation? Did not "thoſe prodigies of profuſe donation trample on the mediocrity or humble and laborious individuals," without throwing back on the community any publick benefits that could juſtify the receiver, or apologiſe for the Sovereign? But in aſking this, is it meant to "preclude the Duke of Bedford from attacking a profuſe or unmerited grant of the Crown?" Is Mr. Burke unwilling to concede to his Grace the right which Mr. Burke is himſelf exerciſing? Certainly not. By tracing the ſource of his Grace's wealth, is it meant to juſtify any ſimilar profuſion? Far from it. The inquiry is as to the *quantum meruit*. That of the noble Duke is not diſputed. It is ſuch, no doubt, as his habits, his education, and his years, may naturally be ſuppoſed to produce. But it is not from HIS *quantum meruit* that his Grace derives his poſſeſſions. They are derived from that of another. And ſince the noble Duke conteſts the propriety of penſioning Mr. Burke, who has no other claim than

that

that of merit, where is the irrelevancy of contraſting ſuch merit with that which formed the baſis of his Grace's fortunes? Mr. Burke has been cenſured for not noticing the intermediate branches of the Houſe of Ruſſell: it is even inſinuated that he is no friend to the Proteſtant cauſe and the cauſe of Freedom (in defence of which he has ſpent a long life), inaſmuch as he has not paid a paſſing tribute to the excellence of Lord William Ruſſell. But I may aſk, did the wealth of the Houſe of Bedford flow from the blood ſhed by that nobleman on the ſcaffold? Is it in Lord William's merit, or his virtue, or his patriotiſm, that the noble Duke finds the origin of his property? No: but thoſe qualities in one of his Grace's predeceſſors gives to his title an additional ſtrength, and a collateral ſecurity, no leſs honorable than binding, in the gratitude of his country. Let us hope that the noble Duke will give it additional luſtre, by "employing all the energy of his youth, and all the reſources of his wealth, to cruſh rebellious principles which have no foundation

tion in morals, and rebellious movements, that have no provocation in tyranny."

That Mr. Burke's inveſtigations on this ſubject ſhould prove prejudicial to ariſtocracy, or ſhake the foundations of property, is a concluſion not eaſily deducible from the premiſes. I muſt repeat, that he is aſcertaining merits, and not ſubverting titles. He is ſaid "to change the reſpect of the multitude for "property into diſguſt; to let looſe their en-"raged paſſions on that wealth which is the "object of their perpetual envy: and to lend "even to rapine itſelf ſome of the features "and lineaments of juſtice*." There is nothing capable of changing into diſguſt the general reſpect for property or power, but the abuſe of it. From the demerits of the firſt Earl of Ruſſell they will feel no claim to attack the poſſeſſions of the Duke of Bedford. Nothing can abate their reſpect and reverence for his Grace's property, and the laws that ſecure it, but the infuſion of principles deſtructive of all rights, and ſubverſive of all

* Monthly Review for March, 1796.

laws.

laws. Nothing can ſhake ariſtocracy but the conduct of its own members. If they, like the deteſtable Orleans, ſhall countenance Plebeian factions, and betray their own intereſt; if they ſhall renounce their own dignity, and queſtion their own privileges; if they ſhall aſſemble the populace, and harangue mobs on momentous points, fit only for the diſcuſſion of deliberate Councils and grave Senates; if they ſhall appeal to judgments which they ought to inform, and to paſſions which they ought to controul; it is then indeed, that they "lend even to rapine itſelf ſome of the features and lineaments of juſtice." Then trembles the "Corinthian capital of poliſhed ſociety." Then is undermined the deep baſe of hereditary property. If ſuch nobles have no deſigns againſt the peace or the conſtitution of their country; and I am willing to allow them good motives, for I pretend not to ſearch into the hearts of men; yet are they by this conduct abetting thoſe who have. They are abetting the internal enemy. They are ſtrengthening the hands of the domeſtick foe. This mode of poiſoning the minds of the People,

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and of weakening the energies of Government, is more to be dreaded, and more worthy of reprehenſion, becauſe more dangerous, than tranſmitting to the French convention, revolutionary preſents and ſeditious reſolutions.

Abhorring ſuch principles, and cenſuring ſuch proceedings, with an indignation not eaſily expreſſed, and which he could never wiſh to expreſs but in terms appropriate to his feelings, Mr. Burke has been accuſed of recording the effuſions of raſhneſs and anger, rather than the reſults of reaſon and diſpaſſionate inveſtigation. I cannot envy the critical ſagacity, the "cold heads and lukewarm hearts," of thoſe who read with a ſpirit ſo different from that of a writer, as neither to taſte, nor to comprehend, thoſe figurative expreſſions which ſtrength of feeling always produces, and which ſerve to illuſtrate opinion, and to confirm truth: a mode of expreſſion which it is the eaſieſt taſk of malignity to pervert, and of dulneſs to ridicule. The Reflections on the French Revolution afforded ſome ſcope for the diſplay of theſe minor wits and turbulent politicians, whoſe minds are darkened by the boaſted

boaſted effulgence of their new lights, and their hearts hardened by philoſophical ferocity. Theſe are the true ſans-culotte criticks. They not only rejoice in the degradation, the depoſing, and the murdering of the King and Queen of France; but their feelings are ſo far rarified and ſubtilized by their metaphyſicks which lift them above humanity, as to hold in high deriſion all ſuch as contemplate thoſe dreadful ſcenes with any ſenſation of horror. And he could never hope, nor could he ever wiſh, to eſcape their contemptuous raillery, who, in lamenting the fate of thoſe illuſtrious ſufferers, could not but regret the extinction of that heroick virtue which diſtinguiſhed even the days of chivalry; when ferocity itſelf was not barbarized and reduced into ſyſtem by ſentiment; nor the ſacred rights of nature uſurped by the factitious rights of man. The invincible deteſtation which Mr. Burke has, in his late Letter, expreſſed for the monſters who have perpetrated theſe crimes, and who have deluged Europe with blood; that invincible deteſtation has, in no leſs degree, excited the fury of theſe philoſo-

phical " lovers of mankind," theſe " univerſal patriots," whoſe open cry is for Reformation and peace, and whoſe private projects are for innovation and plunder. Happy muſt Mr. Burke be to have merited their enmity, which he ought to conſider as additional proofs that he has " produced ſome part of the effect propoſed by his endeavours."

To theſe feelings of the heart, this fervour of principle, the opponents of Mr. Burke are unwilling, on any occaſion, to aſſign any good motive. They can find no apology for enthuſiaſm, but in favour of ſedition: no virtue in principle, but as it promotes diſcontent. Even his exertions, his nightly ſtudy and his daily toil, for ſo many years reſpecting the intricate, involved, and comprehenſive affairs of India, are regarded by them as petty labours, to accompliſh baſe purpoſes. Such is the extent of *their* inquiries; ſuch the inference of *their* liberality; ſuch the complexion of *their* minds. Nor could he advert to theſe exertions, nor to any of his ſervices, without being cenſured

cenſured as an * Egotiſt, by men who ſeem as utterly unacquainted with the ſubject, as they are with decency; and who, in repreſenting Mr. Burke as bereft of reaſon, and as the diſciple of envy and malignity, and of all the fouler paſſions, do this in terms to convince the world how admirably they can pourtray themſelves: for it is not leſs remarkable than true, that, with very few exceptions, theſe ſagacious, heart-reading obſervers, have not attributed to Mr. Burke a ſingle mode of abuſe with which they have not loaded their own pages; and in their endeavours to ſoar a little beyond the "viſible diurnal ſphere" of their vapid declamation,

* The venerable Plutarch has enumerated a variety of caſes wherein a modeſt man may even praiſe himſelf, and when it is his duty to do ſo.—Mr. Burke has, on a fair and proper occaſion, ſtated ſome of thoſe ſervices that have been thought worthy of the remuneration which he has received. Is it becauſe they cannot contradict the facts that the pamphlet-writers are ſo eager to depreciate the merits: and aſcribe to Mr. Burke a diſguſting degree of ſelf-praiſe? But we hear nothing of this when the gentlemen ſpeak of Mr. Burke's *former* ſervices, *i. e.* of ſervices, which, though done on the great ſcale of national good, happened to correſpond with the minutiæ of *their* politicks.

mation, one may well ſay of them, as the incomparable Dunning, in his Letters of Junius, ſaid of Sir William Draper, that they poſſeſs the " melancholy madneſs of poetry, without its inſpiration." And in point of Egotiſm, without any pretenſions to publick notice, how infinitely do they ſurpaſs Mr. Burke !—how continually are we reminded of the purity of their principles, and the virtues of their independence!—of worthleſs penſioners, and of unconſtitutional penſions! They ſeem to have generated in their minds an antipathy to the word penſions. One of them, indeed, after enumerating the advantages reſulting from " landed penſions," takes notice to remark, * that Penſions ſuch as Mr. Burke's " cannot well be " applied to purpoſes of national improve- " ments; for their avowed and proper ob- " ject is to reward or relieve indigent merit." But how ſhall he find favour in the eyes of thoſe who aſſume all publick virtue to themſelves and their party; and who are inca-

* Miles's Letter.

pable

pable of combining the efforts of a long life, when its laſt act ſhall claſh with their views? What merit ſhall he claim who ſeeks to root up thoſe principles, and oppoſe thoſe practices, which would deprive the Crown of the power and the means of rewarding or of relieving indigent merit? Shall he then who has laboured for the Publick go unrewarded, becauſe it is dogmatically ſaid his remuneration, which he receives as the effect of national gratitude, "cannot well be applied to purpoſes of national improvement?" Surely, the property thus honourably acquired is at leaſt as beneficial to the community as any perſonal property ariſing from labour. It circulates as other monied property: and if applied in the purchaſe of lands, may, proportionably, become of as great publick utility as the Bedford eſtates: for, doubtleſs the "landed penſioner," would take example from the noble Duke's prudence and patriotiſm, and render his property as productive as poſſible. But ſince penſions are ſo obnoxious, in what way would

would theſe faſtidious gentlemen " reward or relieve indigent merit," or publick ſervices? Is the preſent mode more exceptionable than confiſcation and plunder? Or is it impoſſible to become publickly beneficial without adopting the cannibal philoſophy of France; and impoſſible to reward ſuch merit, but by a diſtribution of all property among all men*, accord-

* This is ſeriouſly recommended in a " Warm Reply to Mr. Burke, by A. Macleod:—" " All we have to do," ſays this warm writer, " conſiſts in candidly acknowledg- " ing the right of perſonal ſecurity and perſonal comfort. " If at preſent theſe are not enjoyed, prudence ſhould dic- " tate an immediate adoption of ſuch regulations as would " ultimately procure them. *Every ſubject of theſe kingdoms,* " *by a fair diſtribution of the national purſe, might be raiſed* " *to honourable independence.* Now, however, a ſervile " coincidence with the nod of power alone diſtinguiſhes the " ſons of Britain. Mortifying condition! abject men!"— This gentleman writes a great deal about the " tree of knowledge, original ſin, and how " painful it is to be virtuous in this age."—He exclaims, " Ah! this age! Curſe " the age, and curſe the people too, who can baſely com- " promiſe their liberties for gold, and barter heaven for a " curricle!"—He allows that he is ſometimes *in a paſſion:* " If I were in a paſſion, the criticks muſt know, or if they " will

according to the ſtrict laws of Equality, and the admirable inſtitutes of the ſans-culotte code?

The adverſaries of Mr. Burke are willing to believe that his Penſion is given him for his writings in favour of monarchy, and of the war with France. But they are unable to point out a paſſage in thoſe writings wherein he

" will not, they, and the whole world may, that the ap-
" proaching diſſolution of order, the approaching depreda-
" tion of humanity, the approaching funeral of Britain made
" me ſo: and far from correcting theſe inbred tranſports,
" I yield to their fervour, I cheriſh all their warmth; they
" ſhall animate my laſt breath, and the gaſp will be for li-
" berty!"—Could *Bully Bottom* † have ſaid more?—But Mr. Macleod is in a ſtill greater paſſion about liberty:—" Only
" ſuch men as Mr. Burke," he ſays, " would dare to aſ-
" ſert, that Engliſhmen owe their liberties to the Houſe of
" Orange. I declare that, when reading that aſſertion, I
" could not reſiſt emotions at once indignant and ſcornful:
" I even ſaid in my heart, *damn the man!*"—All this, however, is to be forgiven, when we find the Author, in a lucid interval, obſerving, very truly, that his " con-
" cluſions will be pronounced the ravings of a heated ima-
" gination, the dreams of an eager theoriſt, or the augur-
" ings of a diſaffected man."—Doubtleſs, theſe cauſes have, jointly or ſeverally, produced the " *Warm Reply*."

† Shakeſpeare's Midſummer Night's Dream.

he has either injured or misrepresented the Constitution of England. What he has said in regard to the monarchy of France, he will hardly be induced to give up, till the prosperity of that country, under any other form of government, shall compel him to renounce those ideas which have been strengthened and confirmed by the uncontroulable events of several successive years. To the necessity and the justice of our war with France neither the friends nor the enemies of Mr. Burke are strangers. That necessity and that justice have been repeatedly demonstrated both in and out of Parliament. They were, and yet are, intimately felt by every man who has the least sense of national honour, of general prosperity, or of social rights. The meanest peasant in the kingdom, not infected with French madness, or the Old Jewry disease, felt an instinctive enmity against the common foes of all civilized society. He felt that reason and the rights of human nature were violated and invaded by a fierce banditti. All his moral feelings were roused. Even he comprehended, because he felt, that we warred not with principles,

ciples, merely ſpeculative: that were indeed to fight with phantoms; but that we warred with principles carried into practice: with principles and opinions which urged a lawleſs horde to riſe againſt the privileges and the well-being of every community, and of all mankind; and which it therefore became a duty, and an indiſpenſible neceſſity, to oppoſe. He was ſtimulated by the united energies of the beſt paſſions to contend for the preſervation of the beſt and deareſt rights: individual felicity and ſocial happineſs. It was not with him a conteſt for power, for dominion, for pre-eminence in the ſcale of nations; it was a conteſt to preſerve the liberties, the religion, the laws, the very exiſtence of his own country, againſt the invaſion of an enthuſiaſtick, and preſumptuous tyranny. The French Tree of Liberty he wiſhed not to ſee planted in his native ſoil. But, in proportion as he venerated the old Engliſh Oak, he abhorred that noiſome exotick: the baleful Tree, with its poiſonous berries, and its deadly leaves; for he found wherever it ſtruck its root, the paſſing winds waffed from its noxious branches

peſtilence and death. He perceived himſelf called upon not more as a member of a great kingdom, than as a man, to unite in reſiſting thoſe who had not only overthrown their own government, and deſolated their own country, but invited, nay inſiſted on, ſurrounding nations, to join them in a general havock for the deſtruction of every thing ſacred and valuable to the human race. If what he felt was ſtrongly impreſſed on the minds and hearts of the people at large; and that, with the exception of a few ſeditious clubs, cannot be contradicted: if the Publick thus felt, without adverting to the extenſive and important motives operating on the minds of Stateſmen; Mr. Burke might reaſonably conclude that the heart of Lord Keppel, had he been living, would have beat in uniſon; becauſe he was as well politically as morally juſt *. His honeſty was

* His Lordſhip was of a different opinion from one of Mr. Burke's opponents: "I remember once dining with a "gentleman who was formerly in Parliament, and with "whom I have lived in habits of familiar intercourſe; "but he much ſhocked me by queſtioning the honeſty of "all

was indiviſible. He had not one ſyſtem of ethicks for his publick, and another for his his private, conduct. A nobleman poſſeſſing ſuch a mind, influenced by ſuch principles, would ſcarcely have been devoid of thoſe ſenſations which evidently pervaded the breaſt of every man in Europe, who had the leaſt pretenſion

" all men in politicks: *arguing from my own feelings, and re-*
" *ferring him to my own hiſtory* †, I ſupported a contrary
" opinion. Experience, however, has convinced me, that
" my friend, although far from being right to the full ex-
" tent of his aſſertion, knew mankind much better than
" I did."

Miles's Letter.

† I will not ſay any thing of Mr. Miles's *egotiſm*, of which this is but as a grain from a mountain: neither will I aſk whether he now refers to his own experience, his own feelings, or his own hiſtory, for a confirmation of his friend's knowledge of mankind: I will only ſay, that there cannot be a poſition more falſe, or more dangerous, than this of univerſal depravity. When ſuch ideas are diſſeminated by men who are ſuppoſed to know the world, as the ideas of higher claſſes of ſociety, thoſe of the lower think themſelves authorized to hold the ſame opinions, and to practiſe upon them. He who has a bad opinion of mankind cannot be ſurprized if mankind have no good opinion of him.

tenſion to a regard for juſtice or humanity. In proportion as his Lordſhip's regard for ineſtimable qualities was ſtronger than thoſe of ordinary men, ſo much more ſtrongly would he have felt the neceſſity and the juſtice of the war: for he well knew, that not to go againſt fleets of pirates, and armies of robbers, were to countenance them; and that he who is careleſs of the inſtitutions of other governments and of neighbouring ſtates, cannot be ſuppoſed friendly to any government; ſince he evinces a willingneſs to ſanction a conduct tending to the deſtruction of all.

But we are told, that the French have given up their moſt flagitious principles, and renounced the "glorious idea" of reducing all eſtabliſhed governments to the level of their own miſerable chaos; and that, therefore, we ſhould attend to terms of peace. It is well for THEM, if they have done ſo. But how far that conſideration ought to induce this country to abandon the war, without accomplishing its original object: how far the ſecondary conſideration of expence, ought to induce us to ſacrifice the dignity and the glory of

of the country, by accepting of diſgraceful terms, or of any terms, ſhort of the moſt advantageous and the moſt honourable; muſt be left for thoſe ſubſequent diſcuſſions in which the obſervations of Mr. Adair * and others may find ſome attention.

Meanwhile, let it always be recollected that, whoever ſhall be reſponſible, the war was unavoidable. "Formerly," ſays Mr. Burke, in addreſſing himſelf to a Gentleman in Paris, "formerly your affairs were your own concern only. We felt for them as men; but we kept aloof from them, becauſe we were not citizens of France. But when we ſee the model held up to ourſelves, we muſt feel as Engliſhmen, and feeling, we muſt provide as Engliſhmen. *Your affairs, in ſpite of us, are made a part of our intereſt;* ſo far at leaſt as to keep at a diſtance your panacea, or your plague. If it be a panacea, we do not want it: we know the conſequences of unneceſſary phyſick. If it be a plague, it is ſuch a plague,

* See Part of a Letter from Robert Adair, Eſq. to the Right Hon. Charles James Fox.

that

that the precautions of the moſt ſevere quarantine ought to be eſtabliſhed againſt it."* Several of Mr. Burke's opponents contend that the war was neceſſary: neither party prejudice nor falſe philoſophy having ſuperſeded, in this inſtance, their natural ſenſe of right and wrong.

When it is conſidered who and what they are that have brought the preſent calamities upon their own country, upon this country, and upon Europe in general: that, in imitation of the moſt diſgraceful act recorded in Engliſh hiſtory, they have murdered their King; thereby giving a horrid teſtimony of their renunciation of every thing ſacred and binding among men: that they murdered a Queen, whoſe only fault was that, if ſhe had the influence ſhe is believed to have had, ſhe did not exert it to yoke the wolves howling to devour her: that they murdered a Princeſs and a Prince, equally innocent, the Siſter and the Son of theſe illuſtrious ſufferers: that, not content with thus ſhedding the Royal blood of their own country, they incited, and offered to aid and aſſiſt other countries, particularly

* Reflections.

this

this kingdom, to commit the like enormities, and to lay waſte the whole religious and moral, civil and political world: when theſe things are at all conſidered, with the circumſtances attached to them, it cannot be thought ſurpriſing that Mr. Burke ſhould expreſs his abhorrence of a Peace with Regicide. He has been cenſured as the author of a war that was unavoidable. It is a cenſure which, however juſt or erroneous, does him honour. He is thus cenſured for being a friend to the human race, and eſpecially to Great Britain, the total overthrow of whoſe Government was not leſs the object of Conventional determination, both at home and abroad, than the extinction of the French monarchy.—If his labours have contributed to create him perſonal enemies among thoſe who wiſh to reduce their new principles to practice, Mr. Burke muſt reſt ſatisfied with the approbation of all ſuch as feel a real concern for the ſafety and happineſs of the country.

THE END.

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